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THE JEWISH QUESTION
AND ZIONISM

THE JEWISH QUESTION AND ZIONISM

By P. HOROWITZ

With a Foreword by
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FOREWORD

MR. HOROWITZ's essay on "The Jewish Question and Zionism" is one of two which were awarded prizes in a competition instituted last year by the Zionist Organisation. As one of the adjudicators, I have been asked to act as sponsor to the essay on its appearance in print.

The achievements of Jewish effort in Palestine under the British Mandate have attracted a good deal of public attention in this country. Many have written, and many more must have read, of the work of the *Halutzim*, by which the swamps of a long-neglected land have been turned into smiling cornfields; of the modern city of Tel-Aviv, built by Jewish enterprise and labour on the sand-dunes near Jaffa; of the revival of Hebrew as a vernacular, the establishment of a network of Hebrew schools, and the inception of a Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. Less has been heard of the driving force that is behind all this creative activity—the force that moves some part of the Jewish *intelligentsia* of Eastern Europe to go and dig fields or build roads in Palestine, and some part of the Jewish *bourgeoisie* of the rest of Europe, of

America and of the British Dominions to provide the funds by which these and other operations are made possible. Economic pressure on the one hand, philanthropic sentiment on the other, would be superficially suggested as the explanation. No doubt they play their part; but they could not themselves have produced the Zionist movement. That movement owes its vitality to the persistence among Jews of a feeling—from which the emancipated no more than the down-trodden can wholly escape—that between themselves and Palestine there is an indissoluble bond. The Zionism of to-day is, in part, but the modern expression of that feeling, which has manifested itself in other forms in the past, and may find yet others in the future, when the “Jewish National Home” is an accomplished fact.

But if Zionism derives its strength from this sentiment (often merely latent) of attachment to Palestine, it may rightly be called upon to explain why, at this particular time, it is incumbent on Jews to put forth efforts and to make sacrifices in order that Palestine may once more become the seat of a Hebrew national life. Why is a concrete hold on Palestine more necessary to the Jews now than it has been for the last two thousand years? In what way will they benefit if that hold be

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regained? And what sort of position can they hope to occupy in Palestine itself? The need for an answer to these and other questions is not removed by the fact that the fundamental demands of Zionism are admitted by the Palestine Mandate. Rather is it greater than before, inasmuch as the international recognition of Zionism has thrown down a challenge to all Jews to define their attitude to a movement which previously it was possible to disregard as the mere pastime of a few idealists, and has, at the same time, made it more than ever important for Zionists to secure the understanding and sympathy of the general public. A renewed presentation of the case for Zionism, from the purely Jewish point of view, should assist in forming opinion, both among those Jews who have not yet decided, and in those wider circles for which Zionism is still little more than a name.

Mr. Horowitz has set out, with great lucidity and cogency, the salient points of the Zionist philosophy; and his essay should be of value to those who desire—whether out of intellectual interest or for more practical reasons—to understand the grounds on which Zionism claims that it meets the needs of the present Jewish situation.

LEON SIMON.

London, May 1927.

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CHAPTER I

WHAT IS THE JEWISH QUESTION ?

IN the history of mankind there is no exact parallel to the Jewish question. It stands alone. From its inception to the present time, Jewish history shows peculiarities that make it the exception rather than the rule. Abraham, the founder of the race, comes to Palestine from the "other side of the River," settles in the country and becomes, as he himself terms it, a "stranger and a citizen in your midst";—a stranger in thought, outlook and spirit; a citizen in sympathy, action and service. For wife to his son, he sends to the people of his origin, but he does not send his son back to the land whence he came. He brings the future mother of the race to the soil upon which he has settled. History repeats itself in the case of his grandson, Jacob, and this linking up of the Jewish people with the land where Abraham settled—by Divine Inspiration, if you

believe, by accident if you will—becomes one of those dominant factors in the history of a people, that create its individuality, form its character, and shape its destiny.

It is true that every people forms an indissoluble bond with its Fatherland, but with every other people, ancient or modern, the bond is an actual and physical one. They live upon the soil; they are subject to the environment it creates; they learn to love and feel identified with it by direct physical contact. In the case of the Jew, the bond has been rather of a mental and spiritual character, and distinguishes itself in its persistence throughout the ages, despite prolonged periods of separation of the people from their land. Barely one quarter of a history extending over 4000 years has been spent by the Jewish race as a whole in Palestine; and yet at every critical moment in history this bond has never failed to assert its ascendancy over the Jewish people.

After their enslavement in Egypt, their deliverer sets himself the double task of taking them out of the house of bondage and into

the land of Israel. It is conceivable that their emancipation in Egypt would have been the easier task; but no, that would not suffice. The bond that their founder had formed with Palestine draws them irresistibly on to the larger and more distant goal. Wandering in the desert, they might have settled peaceably in any of the unpeopled territories to the South or the East. But again Palestine asserts its ascendancy, and Joshua undertakes the task of conquering the nations which occupied it. And so throughout their history. Exiled to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, they return under Cyrus. Their country ravaged and their spirit broken by Antiochus Epiphanes, they are restored to independence by the Hasmoneans; while few people of the same size offered a more determined resistance to the might of Rome at the zenith of its power than did the small Jewish State in Palestine. Indeed, if it had not been for internal dissensions, it is problematical whether the Jewish nation would not have proved one of the notable exceptions to the general Roman domination.

After the destruction of the second temple and the dispersal of the Jews throughout the countries of the world, the bond between the People and the Land of Israel remains as indissoluble as before; witness the attempts made from time to time to effect a restoration of the Jewish polity in Palestine. Perhaps the most poignant demonstration of this deep attachment betrayed itself as recently as 1905 in the rejection, by the seventh Zionist Congress, of Great Britain's offer to the Zionist Organisation of a free territory in East Africa. Considering that the Congress took place almost immediately after the Kishineff and Homel massacres in Russia, and that it was the Russian delegates who refused to consider any territory outside Palestine even as a "Nachtasyl" or temporary haven of refuge, we have here decisive evidence that centuries of separation have failed to weaken that bond.

This power of being able to live in the abstract, as it were—in mind and in spirit, in hope, prayer, and aspiration—in the land that

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had been marked out for their destiny although themselves scattered to the four corners of the globe, is certainly peculiar to the Jew. History teems with examples of heroic struggles for independence on the part of conquered peoples, but where is there another case of a people entirely uprooted from its Fatherland for generations, yet returning to it again and again whenever the opportunity arose?

What is the explanation? The religious Jew finds it in Divine Inspiration; the rational inquirer must seek it in the hidden complexities of national psychology. A complex, if we may use the language of the modern psychologist, it certainly is. It cannot be simply love for Palestine, for how can the modern Jew have a love for a country which he has never seen? It is not due to historical memory, for the appeal of Palestine is by no means limited to those Jews who possess an intimate knowledge of their history. It is due to what, for want of a better term, we call tradition—that something which is carried forward from generation to generation without

being defined, sometimes without even being expressed, that sinks into the heart and mind of the people, becoming an integral part of their national and individual psychology. Palestine is the central tradition of the Jew, the core round which time, history, and fate have wound all that the Jew stands for in religion, ideals, outlook, and thought.

The influence of Palestine upon the Jew is seldom in evidence. Just as the tree is often missed for the fruit and foliage it bears, so the effect of Palestine lies concealed beneath the religious sentiment and sense of Jewish idealism which it has called forth. The casual observer fails to discern in the religious practice of the Jew, or in his character and mentality, the underlying influence of the national centre that created and moulded them. Hence the confusion of thought so prevalent as to the character of the Jewish people, a confusion that has sometimes resulted in their being regarded as a religious community rather than a national entity. Hence also the indifference on the part of a section of the Jewish

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people to the claim that Palestine and its future has upon them, since few people stop to analyse the inner impulses that prompt and guide their actions.

The belief that the Jewish question is a purely religious one is so widespread that we must examine this belief at the outset of our inquiry. Two main considerations decide against it. First, it would place the beginning of Jewish history with Sinai, whereas there existed an acute Jewish question in Egypt long before the Jewish people received the principles of its faith by Moses, and certainly long before the Jewish religion in its developed state had come into being. Historically, therefore, that belief is unsound. In the second place, it is no exaggeration to say that, from a purely religious standpoint, there is practically no Jewish question at the present time. Apart from one or two isolated exceptions, such as the prohibition of *Shechitah* in Switzerland, and, for the moment, of religious practice in Soviet Russia, there is not a single precept or principle of the Jewish

faith which the strictest orthodox Jew is precluded by the law of the land from carrying out in his daily life. Neither in law nor in public opinion is there any proscription in any country of the Jewish religion as such. It is true that to carry out certain of the tenets of the Jewish faith, more especially in the case of the Sabbath and the Jewish holidays, a certain material sacrifice is entailed upon the individual Jew. But that is cheerfully borne by the strictly orthodox Jew, and is easily escaped by those for whom these particular tenets have lost their sacred character. Any difficulties inherent in Jewish observance cannot be regarded as constituting a Jewish question; they are at most only a part, if an important part, of the general problem affecting the Jew. The core of the question still remains Palestine, with all its abiding effects upon the character, the individuality, and the psychology of the Jew, of which his religion is the most characteristic expression. To attempt the analysis of the Jewish question or the synthesis of its solution without first laying bare their

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fundamental basis, is to court confusion from the start.

What is the Jewish question? Is it possible to evolve a definition that will admit of general application?

There are now between fifteen and sixteen million Jews in the world, and there is scarcely a civilised country that does not contain some portion of this total. About one half of the number are in Eastern Europe, that is to say, in Russia, Poland, the newly-constituted states which were part of pre-war Russia, and Rumania. About two millions are in Austria and Hungary, and for purposes of classification these may be placed in the East European group. There are three-quarters of a million in Germany, one-quarter of a million in Great Britain, 60,000 in France, 30,000 in Italy, and smaller numbers in every other European State. During the last fifty years or so there has been a concentration of some three million Jews in the United States of America, mostly in the larger cities; and there are about one-quarter of a million in various parts of

the British Empire overseas. In every country the Jews are a minority of the population.

Widespread and affected by local and political conditions as the Jews are, classification is a task of no slight difficulty. In some respects each country has its own Jewish question, differing in certain aspects from that of the others. It may thus be said that there is a Russo-Jewish question, a German Jewish question, an American Jewish question, and so on, each more or less self-contained, and each having its own distinctive character. But over and above all these specific, local problems, there is the general Jewish question, which affects the Jewish people as a whole, and has its repercussion even upon the purely local aspects of the Jewish question in each particular country. Indeed, if there were no general Jewish question there could and would be no local Jewish questions. To analyse the whole of these local Jewish questions is, of course, beyond the scope of this essay, and could serve a useful purpose only if the analysis would assist in the deduction of the

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fundamentals of the general Jewish question, which it is our purpose to formulate and define.

Generally speaking, the different Jewish communities throughout the world can be divided into two distinct groups: the Jews living in Eastern Europe, and those living in Western Europe, the Americas, and the British Dominions and Colonies; or, to put the classification upon an ethnological basis—and speaking in the very broadest terms—the Jews living in contact with a predominantly Slav environment and culture, and those living in contact with a predominantly Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, or Latin environment and culture. Undoubtedly, within these groups, numerous distinctions may still be drawn. But there is a general approximation of conditions in the different countries constituting each one of these groups, and a line of demarcation can be drawn between the two, so that each may be analysed separately. If we can find a common factor in the Jewish question as it affects both these groups, we

shall arrive at the root-principle of the general Jewish question.

Taking the former first, as the older and more compact group, what are the conditions that create for them a Jewish question? For the purposes of simplifying the issue, we will take the Jews as they were in the Russia of the pre-war period, before they were split up amongst a number of smaller states (a process which, if anything, has aggravated the earlier conditions). There were in Russia six to seven million Jews, mostly cooped up in what was known as the Pale of Settlement, living together in segregated areas, leading their own religious life, and, one might almost add, their national life, as if they were in their own land, but denied all freedom and rights of citizenship, and cut off—partly by their own desire, and partly by the conditions under which they lived—from the general scheme of the world's progressive thought and culture. Held in contempt by their neighbours, they were every now and then the victims of an outburst of hostility, cul-

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minating in an economic boycott that threatened their existence, or in a pogrom that destroyed Jewish life, wrecked Jewish homes, violated Jewish women, and ravaged the whole Jewish community.

Cramped in their lives, narrowed in their vision, with fear in their hearts and doubt in their minds, with no future for their youth, the Jews in Eastern Europe have but one consolation—that they have maintained their Jewish heritage throughout it all, and still possess their Jewish soul. A great consolation, but at what a cost in human misery and suffering! The price that the Jews of Eastern Europe have to pay for the elementary right to live their own lives in accordance with their own tradition—that is the essence of their Jewish question.

Turning to the second group, we find as many points of contrast as of contact in the prevailing conditions. Granted full freedom and rights of citizenship, and given the opportunity to participate in the affairs of the country in which they live, the Jews in this group

attain to positions of influence in every phase of activity, and play their part not only in political and economic life, but also in the cultural and sometimes in the social spheres. Where does the Jewish question arise in their case? It arises in the inner consciousness of the individual Jew, in the feeling that, in attaining the position he holds, he has lost a part of himself, which he had never thought to lose. He has parted with his Jewish heritage, and, though he may hide it, and even attempt to laugh it to scorn, the pang is there, and he begins to discover it when he sees the next generation travel still further along the path that he initiated. It becomes a positive mental anguish when he finally realises that he has been the first to snap the historic thread that has bound him and his for generations to the people of his origin. The Jew of Western Europe has found position, wealth, distinction, freedom. But at what a cost in mental anguish and loss of individuality, character, and moral fibre? The price that the Jews in Western Europe or America

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have to pay for their elementary right to share in the progress of human thought and culture—that is the essence of their Jewish question.

The price in the case of one group is the reward in the case of the other; but the common feature is that both have to pay a heavy price for what comes freely and naturally to the members of every other people which lives upon its own soil, and not under the domination of any other people. This common feature it is that constitutes the basis of the general Jewish question, which thus falls naturally into the category of human problems known as “National Questions,” and the next step in our analysis must be to examine the nature of a national question.

It is generally agreed that the two forces which go to make a people are heredity and environment, the latter term standing not only for soil and climate, but for all those factors of culture, language, and political conditions that affect the human mind. When these two forces are in harmony with one another, life proceeds naturally and normally.

Where there is a clash, life becomes strained and anomalies arise, leading either to unhappiness or to a revolt, and a re-harmonisation of the two. Such clashes are not infrequent in history. Sometimes they arise from a too-rapid revolution within the nation itself, as in the case of the French Revolution and, more recently, in the Revolution in Russia. More often they are due to the imposition upon a people, by an outside nation, of an environment, a polity, or a culture that is alien to its hereditary instincts. Whenever a people which has its own history, past associations, culture, and language is compelled to live in an environment which is uncongenial to it, sooner or later a national question arises. We may take as typical instances of this class of problem the Irish question, the Polish question, and the question of the French in Alsace-Lorraine before the war, because in the sum-total of their effects they offer the nearest analogy to the Jewish question, and because we can see in each of these cases not only the causes of the problem, but also some of the results of its

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solution. They differ in certain important respects. Poland was partitioned between Russia, Germany, and Austria, and was held in forcible repression. Alsace-Lorraine, with a preponderating French population and culture, was held in subjection by Germany, with a forcible super-imposition of the German political system and German *Kultur*, but at the same time maintained an intimate contact with the great French polity from which it sprang. Ireland, at least during the last century, was not perhaps actually oppressed, but felt that her freedom of national development was being cramped by her enforced connection with England. In each case the main thing was that there ensued an ever-growing clash between the inner consciousness of the people, which was its historic heritage from the past, and the system of government, education, or culture imposed upon it from without. In each case life became strained, and a gulf was formed between the older and the younger generations. Each individual member of the people began to feel that he was being com-

pelled to live two lives, and became more and more embittered against his alien surroundings, until the culmination came in revolt and a forcible readjustment of the balance between heredity and environment.

The Jewish question differs from these typical instances of national questions only in the exceptional aggravation of the conditions which have created it. Not only has the Jewish people to live in environments that are in conflict with its inherited instincts and mentality; the very soil upon which it rests is nowhere its own. The Irish at least were not strangers in their land, neither were the Poles, nor the French in Alsace. But for the Jew there was not, among all the territories in which he lived, a single one that he could have claimed for his own. If then the Irishman or the Pole felt that life was intolerable until he had succeeded in creating harmony between his inner consciousness and his outer surroundings, how much more must Jewish life have become embittered, seeing that the Jew has had to undergo for generations the effects

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of a never-ceasing struggle, a struggle between all that his Jewish historic past in Palestine had developed in him, and his external environment in every country, which threatened to subdue and ultimately to annihilate his real self. Add to this a feeling of homelessness, a sense of friendlessness, and a lack of security, and we have the conditions that were bound to create a Jewish question.

The Jewish question, then, is the problem that arises out of the conflict between the heredity and the environment of the Jewish people. Or, in more specific terms: the Jewish question is the problem that arises out of the conflict between the "Palestine" within the Jew, which is the source of his spiritual life, and the "America," the "England," the "Russia," or the "Germany" that constitutes the sphere of his physical existence.

We have endeavoured to evolve a definition of the Jewish question in terms that are fundamental; and the reasoned deduction of this definition from an analysis of the Jewish situation would suffice to establish its accuracy,

if the Jewish situation were the sole factor entering into the Jewish question. As, however, the Jewish question is one that, at least indirectly, affects almost the whole of civilised humanity, the practical consequences that its existence has upon the non-Jewish world must now be considered.

The general application of our definition to all Jews, of whatever class and conditions, and wherever situated, must be clear to everyone who cares to trace effect to primary cause and does not stop short at an intermediate stage which is in itself only a secondary effect of that primary cause. It is these secondary effects that are, in the main, the cause of the existence of a Jewish question in so far as non-Jews are concerned. Thus, if we take the international distribution of the Jews, or any particular Jewish occupation to which objection is taken, or any special defect in character that may rightly or wrongly be attributed to the Jew, as the cause of the prejudice against him, we shall find that every one of these is merely a secondary effect of the

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fundamental position formulated in our definition.

Let us analyse, for instance, the question of the international position of the Jew, about which so many Anti-Semites are concerned. To what is it due? Simply to the fact that the Jews are scattered throughout the world. Why are they scattered? Certainly not from choice. No historian ever suggested that the Jews in Palestine petitioned Titus or the other Roman emperors to disperse them amongst the then known world. Why have they spread still further? Simply because the clash between their heredity and the environment of the country in which they found themselves became from time to time so intolerable, either to themselves or to the people amongst whom they lived, that they were compelled to seek a new environment. Every migration of Jews is directly traceable to the same fundamental cause. And what applies to the international distribution of the Jew applies to the practical effects, real or imagined, of that distribution. Similar reasoning leads to the same conclusions

with regard to the issues of Jewish occupations and of the alleged defects in the Jewish character. Not only are they all traceable to the same basic factor, but it is that basic factor that emphasises their existence and aggravates the feeling aroused against them.

Consider the history of the relations between Jews and non-Jews in any country to which Jews have migrated, be it Spain, or Poland, or America, or Australia. In the first instance there is very little antagonism—in some few cases the Jews have even been welcomed, though in most cases, it must be admitted, they are preceded by a general prejudice against them, due either to residual religious animosity, or to a feeling of contempt for their “homeless” condition. Then more Jews come. They increase in numbers, acquire a knowledge of the language and conditions of the country, and begin to make themselves felt in the various spheres of its life—economic, social, political. It is then that a Jewish question arises, so far as the non-Jews are concerned. As for the Jew, his Jewish

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question has been with him from the start; it was for this reason that he came.

Why does this other side of the question arise? It is not entirely a case of action and reaction, for the Jew can scarcely be said to react upon his environment. He either participates in it or leaves it alone; he never attempts to affect or influence it from his Jewish standpoint. But whether he participates in it or leaves it alone, resentment is aroused by the very fact that he is playing a part in the country. From the point of view of the non-Jew it is not a clash of heredity and environment; it is a clash of heredity and heredity, type and type. The strain that the Jew feels in his position has its reflex action, its counterpart in the case of the non-Jew, or at any rate in that considerable section of every people that takes an exclusive view of its national existence, and looks with resentment at any "heredity" other than its own, which tries to play a part in that national existence. All the prejudice that lay dormant within that section, all the contempt that, till then, they

had kept concealed, struggles to the surface and adds to their resentment. Feeling leads to expression, and expression soon culminates in action. Every petty fault of the Jew, every anomaly of his existence is exaggerated. Every national mishap, every unpopular movement is attributed to him. It is true that large sections of the people dissociate themselves from these attacks upon the Jew, and endeavour to suppress all feeling of prejudice or resentment. But the fact remains that there does not exist a country in which Jews have been domiciled for any length of time where a certain section—varying in number and importance with each people—has failed to begin an agitation against the Jews resident in their midst, an agitation that spreads upwards and downwards, and results in social ostracism, a heightened contempt for the Jew, and exclusion from certain privileges, even where it does not proceed to the extremes of hostile legislation and persecution.

It is the general prevalence of such agitations, their virulence in some cases and their violence

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in others, that has caused so many Jews and non-Jews to look upon them as the basis of the whole Jewish question. They are not. They are not even the decisive factors in it. The Jewish question, as defined above, must remain for the Jew, even if none of its effects upon non-Jews manifested themselves. Unless the two forces become reconciled to one another, the conflict, within the Jew, between his Jewish heredity and his non-Jewish environment, will continue as long as Jews remain Jews. The non-Jewish side of the Jewish question is merely a different phase of the same primary cause, aroused by its reflex action, accentuated and exacerbated by all these secondary effects that its existence has set up in the relationship between Jew and non-Jew.

CHAPTER II

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SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

IT is a sad reflection that, apart from a few mystic attempts at national regeneration during the Middle Ages, no concerted effort for the solution of its question has been made by the Jewish people, in the long centuries of its exile. Obstacles were certainly in their way, and perhaps these were insuperable. None the less, it is impossible to lay the blame wholly on external conditions, and some part of it must attach to the apathy of the Jews themselves. From a variety of reasons, all of which have contributed, no doubt, to this apparent apathy, we choose that peculiarity in the Jew whereby he could continue to live, "in the abstract, as it were," in his own land, although separated from it, as being the main factor. On such a basis it became possible for each individual Jew to solve his own individual Jewish question by a compromise,

which satisfied his own demands and left the solution of the general question to providence. These working compromises varied with the time, the country, and the prevailing conditions, but until recent years they were all treated as nothing but temporary compromises, and were never accepted as actual solutions of the Jewish question. Within the past sixty or seventy years, however, when the faith in the coming of the Messiah began to weaken, several such compromises—for choice, those that gave the Jew the maximum freedom for individual development or advancement—have been held up before the Jewish people as solutions of the Jewish question by those who had forgotten or misunderstood their real purpose. Other solutions have also at different times been suggested.

To examine all these in the light of our definition, let us proceed on a basis of logical deduction. For, granted that our definition accurately sums up the fundamentals of the Jewish question, a process of logical deduction must result in the formulation of every con-

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ceivable solution to that question. If the Jewish question is due to the conflict between the heredity and the environment of the Jewish people, its solution will be attained when these two forces are once more in harmony with one another. If now we can work out all the possible means whereby that object can be realised, we shall arrive at a complete list of possible solutions, which can be examined from different angles and aspects, and the respective values of which can be appraised and compared. Theoretically the possibilities are numerous; practically they can be reduced to three or four, by the elimination of the impossible, the impracticable, and the fantastic.

Two possibilities in the last category must, however, be considered, because at different times they have been seriously suggested as practical solutions of the Jewish question. The first is the attempt to create a new Jewish heredity in a new (uninhabited) territory, which will give rise to a new Jewish environment. Fantastic as such a suggestion must appear when stated in terms of first principles—if only for

the reason that the creation of a new heredity for the Jew is a contradiction in terms—it nevertheless formed the basis of Territorialism, the movement founded by Mr. Israel Zangwill in 1906, after the rejection of the East Africa offer by the Zionist Congress. In essence Territorialism is an attempt to re-establish the Jewish polity in some uninhabited territory; as if a nation could change its fatherland as an individual changes his coat, or as if, once established, such a national polity could exercise any vital psychological or spiritual influence upon the heart and mind of the rest of the nation, remaining outside its borders. The movement collapsed, less on account of the difficulty of finding a free piece of virgin territory, than because of the gradual recognition of its logical absurdity.

Equally untenable, and even more unattainable, is the idea that the Jewish people, scattered throughout the world, would in time so influence the other nations as to create an environment in every country in harmony with Jewish heredity. Yet in essence this is the

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basis of the "Mission" theory, which has found its advocates at different periods of Jewish history. Briefly stated, it is the theory that it is the destiny of the Jews, or, to use the accepted term, their "Mission," to remain scattered amongst the nations of the earth, so that humanity at large may finally accept from the Jews their ideals, their outlook upon life, and their ethical and religious teachings. Quite apart from the conceit and chauvinism of such a claim, the theory suffers from the weakness that it has had its advocates, but never its devotees. While some great thinkers and writers have advanced the theory, there is not a single record of any attempt to carry it into practice; and this picture of the Jewish people as mute missionaries converting an unwilling world, without even taking the trouble to preach the doctrine, is an amusing feature in an otherwise tragic situation.

Closely allied to the "Mission" theory is the Utopia of Cosmopolitanism, or Universalism (as distinct from Internationalism, which bases itself upon the continued existence of

nations). Cosmopolitanism, stated in terms of our general definition, is the expectation that every nation will finally give up its national individuality, *i.e.* its "heredity," and that an environment common to all and congenial to all will thus be created. On that basis, why worry about the Jewish question? Let the Jew but wait for that happy day, and the whole Jewish question will solve itself automatically. Unfortunately, even the most ardent Cosmopolitanist cannot predict the early advent of that day, while to ordinary human foresight it coincides with the Greek Kalends. For is there any solid ground for expecting it? And if there were, is it a consummation to be wished for? Cosmopolitanism has been represented to Jews as an ideal so lofty that it is worth all Jewish suffering to wait and work for it. Is it really an ideal, or is it a mirage? It is true that national animosities and hatreds are of the ugliest things in human nature; but then so are individual animosities and hatreds. Do we look to the cessation of individual human life

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as the necessary prelude to the end of individual animosities? Why, then, look to the disappearance of nations as the essential condition of world amity? One can envisage a future of international peace and goodwill; one can foresee a world with no national frontiers and no artificial barriers; one can look forward to the time when national emulation will take the place of national jealousy, and when national competition will yield place to international co-operation. Even that may be a vision, but at least it rests on a basis of fact and human tendency. But to see the whole world become one conglomerate, indistinguishable mass of humanity, with no distinct creative tendencies, no national individualities, no separate cultures—that is not even a vision. It is a freak of the imagination. Were Cosmopolitanism practicable, it would have to be combated for the sake of human progress. The world has advanced in thought and practical achievement on the basis of national contributions. There is no people, however small and politically insignificant, that has failed to add something

to the treasure-house of the world's civilisation, culture, and thought. True, each contribution was in the first place made by individuals, but whatever has been contributed by the individual, the nation first gave him the possibility of making his contribution, and then acted as the vehicle for its communication to the outside world. To destroy national individualities is to destroy the natural source of inspiration, creative tendency, and cumulative thought. Cosmopolitanism would not even achieve its ostensible purpose of creating harmony in the world. For harmony does not exist in monotony : it is a synchronisation in variety. One note does not constitute harmony in music, one shade is not harmony in colour, and one unvariegated humanity would not mean harmony in human affairs.

If we eliminate the fantastic and Utopian from further consideration, the possible solutions that we can deduce from our definition of the Jewish question are reduced to three—

1. To maintain a Jewish atmosphere in harmony with Jewish heredity, within what-

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ever environment may surround the Jewish people :

i.e. *Segregation or Ghetto Walls.*

2. To modify and, if necessary, to eradicate the effects of Jewish heredity, so as to make it conform to whatever environment may surround the Jewish people :

i.e. *Assimilation or National Disintegration.*

3. To effect a reunion of Jewish environment and Jewish heredity by re-establishing the Jewish people as a nation in Palestine :

i.e. *Zionism or National Regeneration.*

To take these in the order given, the first is more a state of existence than a progressive solution for the future. In some of its aspects it has already been passed under review in the preceding chapter. Essentially it represents the method which the Jewish people instinctively adopted in self-protection against the forces of disintegration which assailed them on all sides when they were driven from Palestine. There is a natural tendency for all living organisms that possess the necessary vital

force to develop within themselves a protective armour against the attacks of the forces that threaten their existence. In natural science this is a well-known process, and it has its counterpart in human affairs. The first instinct of a people that finds itself in an atmosphere which threatens its dissolution lies in that direction. The Jews were no exception to this rule, which, fundamentally, is nothing more than a variation of the principle that self-preservation is the first law of nature. The first instinct of the Jews, torn from the national centre that was the sustaining force of their corporate existence, and feeling within themselves the vital germ of national life, was naturally akin to that of the hunted animal—seclusion. To conceal the broken inner self that they had brought away with them, so as to preserve it from further attack and maintain it intact—that was their first desire. Later, when they came to realise that concealment was inadequate, that, do what they might, the “inner self” was sought out and subjected either to the lures of seduction or to the

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wounding shafts of derision and contempt, they began to develop that protective armour which has preserved them to this day. The Ghetto wall began to raise itself. In the first instance, there can be little doubt that Jewish hands laid its foundations, in forming those huddled Jewish concentrations that segregated themselves instinctively from their surroundings. But a kindly humanity soon found itself gleefully joining in the task of building the wall higher and wider, until we reach the culminating points, in the yellow badge of the Middle Ages and the iron walls of the Ghettos in Russia, Galicia, Rumania, and elsewhere, which began to totter only towards the end of last century. It is the physical segregation enforced from without that constitutes the accepted notion of a Ghetto wall. In effect, however, every distinctively Jewish institution is really a Ghetto wall. The Synagogue, the *Yeshivah*, the *Cheder*, the *Talmud Torah*, the Hebrew Class, the Jewish Literary Society, even the Jewish Reform Temple, are all little Ghetto walls erected by the Jew himself,

according to his own Jewish proclivities and the distance he has travelled from the path dictated by his Jewish heredity. In the first chapter we divided Jewry into two groups : the Jew in Eastern Europe, and the Jew in Western Europe, the Americas, and the British Dominions and Colonies. For purposes of classification it was a justifiable division ; but the difference between the two is quantitative rather than qualitative. The Jew of the East has his periods and aspects of freedom ; the Jew of the West builds his little Ghetto walls, and every minority group of Jews in a non-Jewish environment stands in a position that is somewhere between the two extremes of almost absolute segregation and almost absolute dissolution.

From the point of view of the preservation of the race and its individuality, *and from that standpoint alone*, nothing could have succeeded better than complete segregation behind Ghetto walls. For nineteen centuries this segregation has been actually in force, and as a result the Jewish people, if not so strong numerically as its

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natural increase would warrant us in expecting, still numbers fifteen to sixteen millions. This is a remarkable example of national survival, without parallel in history. Indeed, if seclusion behind Ghetto walls did not also mean exclusion from much that is best and most desirable in human progress, if it offered a true basis for a permanent and progressive Jewish development, if under such conditions Jews could have led happy and contented lives on the lines of their own tradition, then, from *the purely Jewish point of view*, there would be little of the Jewish question left to solve. We emphasise the words “from the purely Jewish point of view,” because there still remains the question of the attitude of the other nations. Rightly or wrongly, the latter, particularly those in Eastern Europe, do not welcome—to use a euphemism—such Jewish segregations in their midst, and the fact must be faced, that if in these conditions there were no Jewish question from the Jewish standpoint, there would still be a Jewish question from the non-Jewish standpoint.

Apart from this, when we consider that not a single one of the above-named conditions is fulfilled in the situation of the Jew in his Ghetto segregation, it must be clear that the maintenance of a Jewish seclusion behind Ghetto walls, whether self-imposed or otherwise, creates an intolerable state of affairs that no people can permanently endure. If the question be asked, how it is that it has been endured for so long, the answer is, that throughout its continuance it was regarded only as a temporary expedient. Had it not been for the Messianic idea, which permeated the Jewish people with the inspiring hope of a speedy return to the Land of Israel—a hope fostered by tradition and consecrated into a religious Article of Faith for every Jew throughout the Diaspora—it is doubtful whether even Jewish fortitude and vitality could have withstood the inroads made upon them by the conditions of Ghetto life. As an antidote to dissolution the Ghetto has served, and may still serve, a purpose; as a solution to the Jewish question it is a counsel of despair,

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such as no people could accept as the basis of its future.

What of emancipation, the panacea that was held out to the Jew as the universal solvent for his woes? Complete emancipation may come in the near or distant future, but in its turn it can only create a new set of conditions approximating more or less to those arising out of an application of the second of our possible solutions, namely, to modify and, if necessary, to eradicate the effects of Jewish heredity, so as to make it conform to whatever environment may surround the Jewish people. Modification appears a simple and innocuous process. The difficulty arises in its limitation. In certain respects, such as manners, habits, and customs, modification is readily achieved, at any rate in the course of one or two generations. Thus a Jew born, brought up, and educated in England may acquire all the outer characteristics of the Englishman to such a degree as to regard himself, and sometimes even to be regarded, as English. The same, of course, applies to the American Jew in

America, and to the French Jew in France. Granted freedom of intercourse and absence of prejudice, there are few surroundings to which the Jew fails to adapt himself. Adaptation, however, is not assimilation. The difference lies in the fact that the one is an enforced and artificial process of attrition, and the other a cumulative and natural process of addition. The Jew adapts himself to his English or American environment, but he is not absorbed by it. Neither does he altogether absorb it. The cause of both negations lies in the overpowering strength of what we have termed his Jewish heredity. The result is an ever-increasing struggle, as the Jew tries to adapt himself more and more to his environment.

Is no compromise possible, which would answer the Jew's yearning for harmony? A possible compromise may appear to lie in the direction of retaining the fundamentals of his inner self and acquiring the externals of his surroundings. For a time this notion developed into a theory, and was hailed as the ideal

solution of the Jewish question, particularly by the Jews of Germany, who had formulated it. "A Jew at home; a German, an Englishman, or an American to the outer world"—that became the slogan of the emancipated Jew, and it represents the attitude of a considerable body of Jews to the present day. Is it really a solution, or is it merely a delusion? From the non-Jewish side, the non-absorption of the Jew should not be open to objection. The Jew is loyal, law-abiding, and patriotic, capable of the highest self-sacrifice for his country and of being an invigorating force in its development. Yet, in spite of all this, he is never entirely and unreservedly accepted by his fellow-countrymen, or at any rate by a considerable section of his fellow-countrymen. That something which the Jew retains unto himself, that residuum of separateness, always seems to find its counterpart among the non-Jews. Sometimes it renders him suspect; often it arouses animosity; at all times it is resented. In times of prosperity he is tolerated, but in days of adversity he becomes a scape-

goat. His success arouses jealousy, his failure contempt, his activity antagonism, his indifference censure. All these may vary in character and degree with the country and the time, but one thing stands out clearly: however much the Jew may adapt himself, there is still a Jewish question for the people amongst whom he lives.

With regard to the Jew himself, the main difficulty that arises out of the attempt to adapt himself to his surroundings is its disintegrating effect through succeeding generations. For the first generation the attempt—as was discovered by Moses Mendelssohn, the distinguished promulgator of this theory—forms a possible compromise. If it could be stabilised and maintained indefinitely, the Jews would find in it the formula for their continuance as a separate entity amongst the nations of the earth. But, as has been said above, the difficulty is to set a limit to modification. After all, this adaptation to environment is only a compromise; it means at best a balance of psychological forces, not their reconciliation,

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and hence it can have no permanent basis. What happens is that the first generation retains the fundamentals, and sheds only the externals, but the succeeding generations proceed to attack the fundamentals; until finally all that remains is a "Judaism" devoid of life and vigour, which yet persists in spite of itself in a more or less petrified form—the "dry bones" of religious metaphor. That this is no mere figure of speech, but a genuine possibility in fact, is evidenced by the number of Jews who have lost all Jewish consciousness, possess no trace of Jewish learning, have no knowledge of a Jewish past, are indifferent to a Jewish future, and yet persist as Jews and even bring up their children to consider themselves Jews, if only in name.

So much for modification. There is the other alternative: complete eradication of Jewish heredity and submergence amongst the nations of the earth. To this process the modern Jew, always attempting to disguise the anomaly of his position by the use of terms which suggest normality, has applied the term

“Assimilation.” As a matter of fact, that term does not properly apply. For what can assimilation in its true sense imply for the Jew? Either the assimilation, or, to use a simpler word, the grafting of his environment on to his existing Jewish consciousness—in which case submergence would be as far off as ever—or else the assimilation of the Jew’s heredity by the nations amongst whom he lives, which is absurd. Unfortunately, the term “assimilation” has become so current in modern Jewish writing, that we are compelled to use it as representing the idea of Jewish submergence, and consequently to define it as the complete eradication of the effect upon the Jewish people of their Jewish heredity, so as to permit of their complete absorption. In that sense, it may be admitted at once, assimilation is a radical solution of the problems of Jewish life. But, then, so would suicide on the part of an individual be a radical solution of his problems in life. Why, then, is suicide universally regarded as immoral and reprehensible, as a crime against society? It can

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only be because no person has the right to eliminate his individuality and thus to prevent it from making its contribution to the general scheme of humanity's progress. On any other basis one's own life must be one's own, to do with it as one pleases. If that is the case with an individual, how much more so must it be with a whole people, which has contributed so much to the world's thought and still possesses the vitality to continue. The first conclusion at which one must arrive is that assimilation on the part of the Jewish people would be an immoral act.

If that is accepted, it seems hardly necessary to inquire further into its effects; but so vigorously has assimilation been urged as a solution of the Jewish question, that it becomes essential to examine it in all its aspects. It has been urged that "assimilation"—again using the term in the sense in which it has been defined—is impossible. That is only partly true. It is certainly possible for the individual Jew to be "assimilated," morally wrong though that action has been shown to be. But

if assimilation is to be the general Jewish goal, one thing must be clearly realised. It is a goal that can be attained only along the path of intermarriage and apostasy from the Jewish religion. Without intermarriage Jewish heredity will persist, if only in a semi-fossilised form, to the end of time. Without apostasy from the Jewish religion, there can be no submergence, since the Jewish religion is the most vital manifestation of Jewish heredity. Have those who advocate assimilation stopped to consider what it would mean to bring sixteen million Jews to the baptismal font and to the non-Jewish marriage altar? Assimilation is not a physical impossibility, but as a practical proposition it would entail a deeper anguish than all that the Jew has suffered from inquisition, massacre, or persecution. Let it be remembered that before assimilation can take place, the two most powerful and persistent emotions in human nature will have to be overcome—religious feeling and national sentiment. Let it be borne in mind that not all environments and cultures among which Jews

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are to be found are of the highest or the noblest character, and then let who will advocate "assimilation" as a practical proposition.

Apart from this, is "assimilation" essential? Why should the Jew contemplate the possibility of submergence? Has he exhausted his vitality? No, for here he still is. Has he outlived his usefulness to the rest of mankind? No, for he still possesses his creative genius. Is he desirous of renouncing his separate existence? No, for he has fought to maintain it for 2000 years. We do not urge the heroic struggle against the forces of dissolution which the Jew has waged since his dispersion as a direct argument against assimilation as an ideal, but we do urge it as conclusive evidence of the vitality, the resourcefulness, and the creative vigour of the forces within the Jew, which have enabled him to maintain his separateness. If the miracle of Jewish survival is to be explained on rational lines, it can be due only to the fact that the Jewish people has felt within itself the inspiration of a great creative force, which, given free play in natural

and normal circumstances congenial to itself, would prove of value to the whole of humanity. Even if assimilation were the simplest and most feasible solution of the whole of the Jewish question, its duty to humanity would still preclude the Jewish people from adopting assimilation as the solution of its problem, so long as there existed the prospect that this national creative force might result in further manifestations of its genius.

There is one further argument to be dealt with in this connection. It is sometimes asked, "What does it matter if the Jewish people is absorbed? The individual Jew is not destroyed; his qualities and his vitality are merely disseminated amongst the nations, to the general advantage of mankind." It is even urged that in this way the Jew would make his maximum contribution to the progress of humanity. Both question and claim are fallacious. At the point of Jewish submergence, everything of Jewish heredity, which is the basis of the Jewish creative genius, must have been eradicated by the very terms

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of our definition. What, then, can the Jew disseminate in his absorption? Only his physical attributes, which no theory can alter. He may share his Jewish blood, but not his Jewish soul; he may disseminate his Jewish brain, but not his Jewish mind; he may spread his Jewish ingenuity, but not his creative genius.

The assimilationist theory stands condemned on the grounds of its socially immoral foundation, its practical futility, and its destructive tendency. There could be no more striking indication of the desperate straits to which the Jewish people has been reduced than the fact that it is urged to contemplate "assimilation" as the goal of its future.

CHAPTER III

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ZIONISM

Our third and last alternative still remains : to effect a reunion of Jewish heredity and Jewish environment by re-establishing the Jewish people as a nation in Palestine.

In the first instance, let us look at the position from a purely hypothetical standpoint. Suppose that Palestine were at present an unoccupied country ; suppose that the whole of the Jewish people were re-established within its borders, and suppose that they developed their national life there as an independent political entity—clearly a picture of Jewish life that precludes the possibility of a Jewish question. In other words, here is the ideal solution. What is there that can be urged against it ? Theoretically and morally, nothing. Grounded upon logic, inspired by Jewish history, hallowed in Jewish faith, acquiesced in by enlightened humanity, it is a picture of

a Jewish future that is merely an enlarged photograph of the miniature of Jewish life which Zionism has already created in Palestine, and is seeking to expand to its maximum extent. Admitted that this can never attain the full stature represented in the picture hypothetically drawn, Zionism yet stands for the nearest practical approximation to it; and if we reduce our hypothesis to reality we shall arrive at the practical basis of the Zionist movement, its potentialities as well as its possible limitations, in the solution of the Jewish question.

Our hypothetical picture assumes, first of all, an unoccupied Palestine. In fact, Palestine at present contains approximately 700,000 Arabs, and some 160,000 Jews. It assumes, in the second place, that all the Jews will return to Palestine. They will not, and Zionism does not contemplate such a contingency. It postulates, in the third place, the development of an independent Jewish polity in Palestine. At present Palestine is a British Protectorate under mandate from the League of

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Nations. With all these negatives, how can Zionism be the positive reply of the Jewish people to the Jewish question? The answer is, that Zionism is a progressive solution which is solving the Jewish question from day to day.

We have stated the negatives. It is time to turn to the positive side. Political Zionism as a practical effort has been before the Jewish people some thirty years. Thirty years ago the Jewish population in Palestine was 20,000, mostly of the older generation, who went there for the sole purpose of dying in the Holy Land. To-day the Jewish immigrant is the young "Chalutz" who goes to Palestine to live and develop there. Thirty years ago there was no general disposition on the part of the Jewish people even to think of Palestine, except in prayer. To-day there is a predisposition on the part of a considerable section of the Jewish people to regard Palestine as their spiritual home and the goal of their selfless ambitions. Thirty years ago Palestine was under the regime of the Turk, and Jews could

enter the country only by means of the infamous "Red Ticket." To-day it is under the ægis of the League of Nations, and the Jewish people is recognised in international law as occupying a special position in Palestine. What it is now our purpose to prove is that present-day conditions are such as to make a gradual approach to the ultimate goal by Zionist endeavour an eventuality, contingent only upon the persistence of that endeavour. For that purpose it will be necessary to consider each aspect, point by point.

There are 700,000 Arabs in Palestine, and only 160,000 Jews. Although that represents a higher percentage of Jewish population than in any other country, Jews are still in the minority. Is there not a possibility of merely reproducing in Palestine the same conditions which obtain in every other country, with all the consequences which have followed from them elsewhere? The best answer lies in the fact that these conditions have not been reproduced. Not only has there been no sign of assimilation, but there has been a Jewish

spiritual and national self-expression in culture, thought, and language which, apart from its modern form, is comparable with that of the pre-exilic period, when the Jewish people were complete masters in the land. The exact causes of that revival are immaterial in this immediate connection, and will be dealt with at a later stage. The main point here is that the new environment created in Palestine is a pure Hebrew environment, in harmony with the highest traditions of the Jewish people. If that were the sole difficulty, there would be little to fear.

The problem of the Arab must, however, be faced squarely in any serious consideration of the position. Ruling out absorption as equally impossible for both peoples, and taking it for granted that any idea of persecution, even in its mildest form, is as unthinkable for the Jewish mind as it would be repugnant to the Jewish conscience, the only thing to do, for the Palestinian Jew mindful of his supreme purpose, is to strain every resource of patience and goodwill to bring about a spirit of co-

operation between the two peoples, and consequently a united effort for the development of the common country. A concordat between two or more peoples occupying the same territory is no new phenomenon in history—Switzerland and Great Britain itself are cases in point—and the complete *rapprochement* between Arab and Jew in Palestine, which has already begun to take effect, is only a question of time. It will come all the sooner because Palestine is not, and never has been, a great national centre for the Arab. Arab nationalism has its vital fields in Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia; Palestine is in reality only an outpost of Arab settlement, and has but little spiritual and cultural significance for the Arab peoples. Although Palestine cannot be regarded as an unoccupied territory, the presence of 700,000 Arabs within its borders, which works out at no more than sixty to the square mile, need be no insuperable barrier to the final development of a full Jewish polity.

At this stage, because the two issues are somewhat connected, it is perhaps as well to

deal with the political conditions in Palestine under the British mandate. In our hypothesis we postulated an independent Jewish polity. This was more for the purpose of vivid illustration than because it was a *sine quâ non* for the fulfilment of the maximum Zionist aim. The essential condition for this purpose is a free and unfettered opportunity for the Jewish people to develop its national life in harmony with its heredity, tradition, and outlook upon life. No doubt this will be objected to by those who revel in the glint and glamour of state trappings, and for whom there is something in the mere romance of independent nationhood. Something there is in romance, or people would not strive after it. But for the Jew the time for national romance is not yet. What is essential for him is to secure the solid foundation upon which to build the national and spiritual edifice which is to give substance to his being. The halo of romance will follow, perhaps, all too quickly for his well-being. The questions that immediately concern him are: is there that foundation in

the political status accorded to the Jewish people in the mandate, and will Great Britain, as the administrator of the mandate, give it the necessary free play?

The mandate is an open document for all to read who care to. But, like all documents, it is open to interpretation, and it is open to misinterpretation. Some have discerned in it a meaning that stands for the ultimate establishment of a complete Jewish Commonwealth; others, just the formation of a "Jewish national home" under the permanent suzerainty of Great Britain and side by side with any "Arab national home" that the Arab people may desire to build up and succeed in building up. We will take the smallest possible content that may be read into it—"just a Jewish national home." Interpret it in the smallest terms, consistent with the meaning of the words, and it still must represent the re-creation of a Jewish environment in the fullest sense and amplitude of the term—a clear answer, in its own particular respect, to the Jewish question as laid down in our definition.

As to the administration of the mandate by Great Britain, the best answer is again the actual fact. The mandate has now been in force for nearly seven years—five years under Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner, and nearly two under Lord Plumer. In that period Great Britain has had a Coalition, a Conservative and a Labour Government. The net result has been a growing and steady increase in Jewish population, activity, and influence in Palestine. Above all, there has been a further development of that distinctively Jewish vital force in every sphere of life which has left an indelible impress upon the country, so that Palestine is fast being regarded as a Jewish country in all but name and political government. From all this it might appear as if Great Britain were not playing any part in the country. That is not the case. Great Britain is playing the rôle she has designed for herself. She is holding the political reins, and the reins are held with a firm hand, but with a guiding rather than a restraining or a driving tendency—a combination of political

circumstances that is peculiarly favourable for a steady advance to the goal of Jewish national development.

The question of the Jews remaining outside Palestine has been left to the last. Here we are face to face with the one possible limitation of the Zionist movement as the complete solution of the Jewish question. Whatever progress Palestine may make, it is inconceivable that it will become the actual home of the whole of the Jewish people. It is not only a question of size. The hinterland on the other side of the Jordan is sufficiently large to absorb the whole of the Jewish people, even if Palestine under intensive development would still be too small for the purpose. Neither is it a question of individual comfort or well-being. We may look forward to a time when Palestine will be in a position to offer the would-be Jewish immigrant all the amenities of civilisation, and possibly even as fair a field for individual enterprise as he finds in the countries of his existing domicile. The deciding factors are will and incentive. Paradoxical as it may

appear, after all that has been written as to the place occupied by Palestine in the heart of the Jewish people, Palestine as a land to live in has but little hold upon the individual Jew. The apparent paradox is easily explained. The love of the Jew for Palestine lies deeply rooted in his Jewish consciousness, in that subconscious mind that holds his spiritual being and finds its expression in a selfless devotion to Palestine as the centre of the national life of his people, rather than as the sphere of his own physical life and movement. As a member of the Jewish people his heart goes out instinctively to the source of all Jewish inspiration; as an individual, however, he feels but little bond or tie either of concrete connection or personal association. Zionism is slowly correcting Jewish perspective in this matter, but only a minority of the Jewish people feel a direct personal call to settle in Palestine; and unless there is some strong incentive from without, the average Jew who is comfortably placed will not break up his home and tear himself from associations that have become

infinitely dear to him, however insistently the spiritual appeal of Palestine may resound in his heart.

When Dr. Herzl was asked what incentive would drive the Jew to form his State, his answer was, "Leave it to the Anti-Semites." He was right so far as the Eastern Jew was concerned. He miscalculated in the case of the Western Jew. For the Jew of the West, unless Anti-Semitism proceeds from a policy of pin-pricks to one of persecution, no compelling incentive exists. But for the Jew of the East there is a combination of a more intense Jewish sentiment, and a more powerful driving force from without, which makes him look to Palestine as the desired goal for both his spiritual and his personal strivings. Hence his intense enthusiasm for the work of building up Palestine. Hence his remarkable capacity for a devotion and a self-sacrifice that has astonished the world in its example and its achievement. So long as conditions remain as they are in Russia, Poland, Rumania, and elsewhere, Palestine need only fear a greater

influx of Jewish immigrants than it can conveniently absorb at any given time. It is not too much to say that if the gates of Palestine were opened and the country were in an economic condition to take in all who wish to enter, the above-mentioned countries would become as devoid of Jews as Spain was after the Inquisition. For the Eastern Jew, Palestine has already become either the actual or the potential solution of his Jewish question, not only as an ideal, not only as a spiritual consolation, but as the land in which he is to live his own life and fulfil his individual destiny. Throughout Eastern Europe "Chalutzim" organisations have grown up, where young Jews and Jewesses are trained intensively in agriculture and in certain industries, so as to fit them for their part as productive members of the *Yishub* in Erez Israel. It is a process which will increase in proportion to the capacity of Palestine to absorb them, and will reach its limit only in the extreme limit of that capacity.

Since the end of the war, nearly 100,000

Jews have emigrated to, and found their home in, Palestine. Suppose Palestine had not been available, where would these 100,000 Jews have found a resting-place? Either they would have remained where they were, a desperate and disturbing element, or they would have broken through the legally closed gates of other lands to accentuate the existing Jewish problem there. Zionism has placed them as free men and women in Palestine, where no Jewish question can exist, and where every Jew who is established helps to create conditions for more to follow. True, 100,000 is barely 2 per cent. of the number of the Jews in Eastern Europe, but it means 100,000 Jews permanently removed from the sphere of action of the Jewish question. Their effect is cumulative; their successful settlement reactive upon the unsettled remainder.

In appraising the practical value of Zionism as the solution of the Jewish question, due regard must be given to the magnitude and duration of the problem. Zionism is not suggested as an immediate solvent for the age-

long ills to which the Jew has been heir for twenty centuries. *From the purely practical standpoint*, Zionism stands out as the inevitable solution of the Jewish question, which will complete itself when a state of equilibrium is reached as between the incentive and desire of the Jew to live his own life in his own national centre and his incentive and desire to remain where he is.

The words "from the purely practical standpoint" have been emphasised so as to make the point clear, and we have purposely eliminated for the moment all other considerations of a spiritual or psychological character. It is these other considerations which are the vital factors in the Jewish question in so far as it affects, or will affect, those Jews whose incentive and desire incline them to remain where they are. If the removal of those Jews whose desire and incentive impel them to seek Palestine as their personal goal had been to any other centre but the one which all Jews regard as their spiritual centre, Jewry outside it would remain unaffected, just as the Jews of

Russia have remained unaffected by the great Jewish concentration in America. But when the physical centre of the former corresponds with the historic and spiritual centre of the whole of the Jewish people, consequences of vital interest and concern to all Jews are bound to ensue. Indeed, in these consequences lies, if not the complete solution, at any rate the almost complete relief from the anomalies arising out of the Jewish question, in so far as the Jews who will remain outside Palestine are concerned.

Let us revert to our definition, and assume that the national centre in Palestine is fully and firmly established. Granted that the clash between his Jewish heredity and his non-Jewish environment will still remain for the Jew outside Palestine, it must also be granted that this conflict can now have no severe physical consequence, as in that case he would have the necessary incentive to proceed to his own centre. The significance of such a conflict must therefore be in a spiritual and psychological direction. In what way, then, will the

Jew outside Palestine be affected by a regenerated national and spiritual centre? The full effects cannot be entered into in this essay, but two of the principal results must be stated. The first is, that such a centre is bound to give a solid foundation to his spiritual existence, and the second is, that it is bound to give to his spiritual content something in the nature of a vital and stimulating force that will preserve his spiritual being without any of the artificial means which he has had to adopt heretofore. The psychological effects will be even more far-reaching. Instead of his having to build petty Ghetto walls to preserve his inner consciousness in a stagnant condition, there will be a sufficient living force within him to maintain it fragrant of its own strength. The strain in the position of the Jew will have passed from him, and he will be able to face his environment not with something that he has to hide from it, but with a positive contribution that he may make to it, without impairing his own inner self. This, in turn, will react upon his non-Jewish fellow-countrymen,

and will serve to bring about a more natural, a more self-respecting, a more dignified, and a less aggressive attitude on both sides. When to this is added the gradual disappearance of the greater number of those secondary effects of the Jewish question which help so considerably in maintaining it, its general mitigation becomes a self-evident proposition.

One of the most important of these secondary effects is the result of the Jew's landless condition. In times of stress it robs the Jew of his self-confidence and fills him with a sense of despair. At all times it makes his position a contemptible one *vis-à-vis* the people amongst whom he lives. This effect will be entirely removed when the Jewish national centre becomes the great national edifice that Zionism is endeavouring to make of it. At present it is difficult to visualise, while there is, comparatively speaking, only a small nucleus of Jewish national life inside Palestine, what significance a fully developed Jewish Palestine will have for the Jew outside. But imagine the case, when, for one reason or another,

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conditions have again become intolerable to him in any particular country. Gone is his helplessness, for he is no longer homeless. There is a place for him to turn to, where he will not be a stranger, and which will not be a strange land to him. In this material aspect of the case, Zionism includes in its answer to the Jewish question even that section of the Jewish people which may insist on holding itself aloof, through indifference or lack of Jewish sentiment, from any contact, even spiritual or cultural, with the Jewish national centre. It might be urged, and with truth, that this is a section which need not enter into Zionist calculation. For though it may be the duty of a nation that has a national question to create conditions for its solution, it is not the duty of the nation to impose that solution upon its individual members. Naturally those Jews who believe in "assimilation," and can bring themselves to carry the process into effect, may stand of their own choice outside the influence that a Jewish Palestine will exert over Jewish life in the Diaspora. But if in

the process of "assimilating" they meet with a situation that threatens their personal safety, the national centre that Zionism is now building up will be open to them, if only as a haven of refuge.

Every section of the Jewish people thus comes within the scope of the Zionist solution, in accordance with their desire to participate in it. To the Jew who goes to Palestine, Zionism offers a complete answer to his Jewish question from every conceivable point of view. To the Jew who remains outside Palestine, but is prepared to come under the influence of its regenerated national and spiritual Jewish life, Zionism offers a solid foundation for his spiritual being, an invigorating source of inspiration to his Jewish consciousness, and a full share in the moral, cultural, and spiritual values that are being created within that national centre. To all Jews, Zionism offers a new hope in life, an added dignity and self-respect, a restored self-confidence, some measure of protection, and, in the last resort, a refuge in case of need.

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One word of caution must be added. Throughout this chapter we have proceeded upon the assumption that the Jewish people as a whole possesses the will to solve its problem and is prepared to shoulder the responsibilities and burdens that this entails. Naturally, if that will fails in expression or falters in execution, the national edifice will at best be an incomplete structure and inadequate for the purpose it is designed to fulfil. The whole case as outlined is based upon the assumption that the will of the Jewish people will not fail or falter. In the brief period—measured historically—during which the Zionist movement has been in existence, the response, though still not commensurate with the final goal, proves that our assumption was fundamentally sound. From Eastern Europe Zionism expected to receive the greater portion of the human material which would build the national edifice. It has come forward in ample measure, and is of a character to inspire the Jew with a feeling of confidence in his capacity for the task. From Western Europe, America, and the

British Commonwealth, Zionism expected to receive the greater portion of the financial means that would be required for the purpose. That too has come forward, but in a measure that hardly corresponds with a determined will to accomplish a great historic purpose. To what can this be due? Many reasons have been adduced, but apart from the opposition of the small party of convinced "assimilationists," an opposition that is fundamental, they can be reduced to two—general apathy and rooted prejudices.

Apathy is a characteristic of mass psychology that yields slowly to influence, and time is the main factor in its elimination. The rooted prejudices against Zionism are of a different nature. They can be removed through conviction. There is a prejudice against Zionism due to fear, on the part of the Western Jew, that the establishment of a Jewish national polity will adversely affect his position as a citizen in the country in which he lives. He has no objection to a Jewish national centre as such; he might even regard it as useful

and necessary. But if it is going to affect his own personal position, then he certainly cannot support it. Not a very noble attitude, but a perfectly natural one. The question is, whether his fear is well founded. Apart from the safeguard on this point contained in the last clause of the Balfour Declaration, would the establishment of a Jewish national centre affect the Jew's position as a citizen of his country? It is undoubtedly an important point, for, as we have seen, Zionism contemplates the continued existence of a large portion, probably a majority, of Jews outside Palestine.

Let us take the extreme case of the Jew who is, say, a Canadian citizen, and whose Jewish consciousness and sentiment impel him to maintain the fullest possible spiritual and even personal contact with the Jewish national centre in Palestine. In what way is he different from, say, the French Canadian, who not only looks to France as his spiritual home, but makes the French language his mother tongue, and yet regards himself and is accepted as a citizen of British Canada in the fullest sense of

the word? We have taken Canada as our example because it contains a well-recognised element already occupying a similar position to that which the Jew would occupy if there were (to take the extreme case) an independent Jewish national polity in Palestine. But the argument is quite independent of geographical position, and we might have taken Great Britain, with distinctive Welsh and Scottish elements in its midst, but that the contrast is not so apparent.

When a man, either by birth or through naturalisation, becomes a citizen of any State, he assumes certain responsibilities and duties to that State; but neither those duties nor those responsibilities impose upon him a negation of his inner self, which has its foundation in the people of his origin and its past history. Again, citizenship of a State confers upon the individual, either born to it or accepting it, the privilege of participating in *any* of those spheres of activity that constitute the national life of that State; but it does not impose upon him the duty of participating in *all* those

spheres. Thus the Established Church of the State, many of its historic institutions, a number of those customs that have their roots in the people's spiritual consciousness, are well-understood exceptions. As a matter of fact, the spiritual side of a people's life is the one sphere in which a member of another people can never completely participate, no matter how much he may identify himself with their interests and purposes, and however much he may love and admire their institutions. For the spiritual side of a people is part of its heritage from past generations, and cannot be fully shared in by anyone not of the blood of that people, except through generations of intermarriage and absorption. If there is one thing that arouses resentment against the Jew above all others, it is his sometimes excessive zeal in trying to enter too fully into that side of the national life of the people amongst whom he lives. All this, though generally not spoken of, for some things are too deep to come readily to the surface in speech, is well understood and accepted by humanity at

large, just as every non-Jew knows that the Jew, however much he may be part and parcel of the same State, possesses a spiritual side that differs from his own. All that Zionism will do is to give that spiritual side a living and vital expression in place of its present inanimate form. But so long as the Jew carries out to the full the duties and responsibilities that attach to his citizenship, Zionism can only have the effect of bringing about a better understanding and a clearer appreciation of his position by his non-Jewish fellow-citizens.

The other prejudices are of a more general character. One is the notion that the establishment of a Jewish national centre in Palestine means that the Jewish people there will be cutting themselves adrift from the general stream of the world's civilisation. As if the world's civilisation were a kind of American Gulf Stream that could not penetrate further East than the Straits of Gibraltar! The prejudice is due to the fact that during the last few centuries the active centre of progressive

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human thought has lain rather to the West than to the East of the Danube; but at best it is a shifting, not a fixed centre, and at all times it makes the whole world its circumference. It is the mind of a people, and not its geographical position, that decides its participation in the work and the results of civilisation; and it cannot be too often emphasised that Zionism does not stand for a narrow Jewish chauvinism, but for a broad Jewish nationalism, in close contact with a still broader general internationalism, and for both receiving and giving all that it can receive and all that it can give in human thought, system, and action.

The second prejudice which still seems to persist—it had its origin in the French Revolution—is that Jewish nationalism is a retrogressive step on the part of the Jewish people. In general form this objection has already been answered in the paragraph on Cosmopolitanism. Speaking specifically of Zionism, we have to point out that the Jew will never succeed in making his distinctive contribution

to the world's thought and culture except through a reconstructed national centre. A nation lives and moves in its own centre as naturally as a planet moves in its own orbit, and it was as unnatural for the Jew to be uprooted from his national centre, and be scattered throughout the globe, as it would be for a star to be torn out of its constellation, and the fragments sent hurtling through space.

One final objection has to be dealt with. It is summed up in the cry, "We will not return to the worn-out practices and customs of the Palestine of the pre-exilic period." Again the same static mind, which can see a thing only as it was and is, and not as it will be. Tradition is one thing, custom another. The tradition of a race lives on with it; its customs change with each generation. Some Western Jews can see in Jewish practice and in the Jewish religion only what one Jewish journalist characterised as their "dirty habits and customs." It is a superficial and narrow view. The habits and customs are largely the products of Ghetto conditions; the tradition

is the sacred thing. If one would form a picture of what Judaism would stand for in the modern world, let him not picture it as it has been preserved in its stagnant form in the cramped life of the Diaspora. Let him picture to himself what Judaism would be to-day if the Jewish people had not been driven from Palestine. Suppose that throughout the past twenty centuries the Jews had remained as an independent people in their own centre, is it conceivable that Judaism would not have developed from generation to generation so as to be in harmony with advancing civilisation? One might just as well say that British tradition means a return to Druid practices, as say that Jewish tradition stands for a return to (*e.g.*) sacrificial ceremonies in the Temple. To preserve their tradition the Jews in the Diaspora had to encase it in a hard shell, which stunted its growth and dwarfed its expression. That is, in itself, a part of the Jewish question that Zionism has come to solve. Surely, then, it must be clear that the solution makes for the removal of this con-

dition, and not for its perpetuation. Throughout its sway in Palestine, Judaism continued upon a progressive basis, making itself a living force in the life of the people. Only the dispersion arrested that progress. If now the Jews return to Palestine, they do not return to Judaism as it was two thousand years ago; they return to remake Judaism as it would have been if they had never left Palestine. And they bring with them, for the strengthening and vitalising of their Judaism, whatever of human value they have seen and learned in their wanderings amongst the other nations.

CHAPTER IV

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ZIONIST ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROSPECTS

THE story of Zionist achievement can be written in one word—organisation; the details of its successful results in the manifold directions it has shown itself would fill a library of volumes. The difference between the pre-Herzl period of Jewish history in the Diaspora and the thirty years that have elapsed since the publication of Herzl's *Judenstaat*, lies in the formation of the Zionist Organisation and movement.

Zionism as a sentiment and an ideal, as the source of his spiritual inspiration, has been with the Jew from the first day of his exile. But it found its expression solely in asserted belief, repeated prayer, poetic conception, or romantic speculation. What Dr. Herzl achieved was the crystallisation of these barren expressions into concerted effort, working through established organisation with a

set purpose for a clearly defined goal. The Zionist Organisation is the corner-stone of Zionist achievement. Everything of a positive character from the Jewish constructive standpoint, which has been accomplished within or without Palestine in the past thirty years, owes its being to Zionist initiative or inspiration. The creation of the Zionist Organisation was a remarkable exploit and a turning-point in Jewish history. In the first instance it was only a psychological turning-point—a turn of the Jewish mind from trackless drift to clear direction. But if one would view its consequences, one can see them on the plains and hills of Palestine, in its orange-groves and vineyards, in its industries and settlements; one can find those consequences in the Chancelleries of Europe and in the archives of the League of Nations; one can discern them in the spiritual renaissance of the Jewish people throughout the world; one can observe them in the revival of the Hebrew Language, and in the creation of a new Hebrew Literature.

Let us review these consequences under their

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different aspects—practical, political, and cultural. First place must, however, be given to the organisation itself. The Zionist Organisation was founded in 1897 at the First Zionist Congress at Basle, where the famous Basle programme, “To create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law,” was drawn up. The control of the organisation is vested in the Executive and the General Council, both elected by Congress, which is the supreme authority in the Zionist movement. Congress is constituted on a democratic basis, and consists of Zionist representatives from every country in the world, elected upon a popular franchise, the sole qualification being the “Shekel,” *i.e.* the payment of a nominal sum (in England at present it is 1s. 6d.), which implies on the part of the shekel-holder an affirmation of his belief in the Zionist programme. At the same time the shekel is designed to cover the greater part of the expenses of organisation. The financial institutions attached to the Zionist Organisation are the Jewish Colonial Trust, the

Jewish National Fund, and the Keren Hayesod. With its ramifications in every part of the globe where a Jewish community exists, the Zionist Organisation represents the co-ordination of effort of the Jewish people as a whole in the upbuilding of the Jewish national centre.

The value to the Jewish people of the Zionist Organisation, apart from its achievement in the different spheres of its activity, lies in its action as the rallying centre of Jewish thought and effort, and as a connecting link between one Jewish community and another and between all Jewish communities and the Jewish national centre in Palestine. It is at once the receiver and transmitter of Zionist effort in the Diaspora to Palestine, and of the new Jewish spiritual and cultural values created in Palestine to the Jewish communities throughout the world. For all practical purposes the Zionist Congress functions as the Parliament of the Zionist movement, and the Organisation is officially recognised by the Governments of the world as the representative of the Jewish peoples in all matters appertaining to the establishment of

the Jewish national home. Above all, the Zionist Organisation stands out as the symbol of Jewish spiritual unity and the embodiment of Jewish historical purpose.

Only a brief survey can be given here of the institutions attached to the Zionist Organisation. The Jewish Colonial Trust was founded as a banking company on a limited liability basis in 1899 at the second Zionist Congress, and possesses a paid-up capital of £394,310. Acting through its subsidiary, the Anglo-Palestine Bank, it is playing a useful, though in view of its small capital a necessarily modest, part in the Jewish development of Palestine.

The Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth Le-Israel) owes its inception to Professor Herman Shapira. Formed in the early days of the Zionist movement, and having as its chief purpose the purchase of land in Palestine which shall be the inalienable property of the Jewish people, it has succeeded in gathering in a total sum of £1,500,000. The basis of its collection is the smallest coin of the realm

where the collection is made, and its popular appeal has been enhanced by the wise administration of the Fund and its disposal for objects of supreme national interest. The details of its organisation and activities would in themselves fill a volume, but some idea of its scope and influence may be formed from the facts that the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the Haifa Technical Institute, and the High School (Gymnasia) at Tel Aviv, as well as many of the co-operative Jewish settlements and colonies, are founded upon land purchased by the Jewish National Fund.

The Keren Hayesod is of more recent origin. With the advent of the Balfour Declaration and the opening of greater possibilities for Jewish effort and expansion in Palestine, the need was felt for larger funds to cope with the new situation created, and first the Preparation Fund, then the Restoration Fund, and finally the Keren Hayesod were launched. Based upon the ideal of "Maaser," a sacred Jewish principle that dates back to Moses—so interwoven is old and new in

modern Zionism—the Keren Hayesod makes its appeal to the Jews of the world to contribute one-tenth part of their income for the upbuilding of the Jewish national centre. Only a small section of the Jewish people has lived up to that ideal in the actual amount contributed, but since the inception of the Keren Hayesod—*i.e.* in less than six years—a total sum of over £2,500,000 has been collected. In view of the general post-war economic conditions outside America, and their effect chiefly upon East European Jewry, this represents no mean contribution, though its inadequacy for the larger purpose is to be deplored. The money has been utilised for agricultural colonisation, industrial development, the building of a complete Hebrew educational system, and for assisting the immigration and settlement of “Chalutzim” in Palestine.

If, as has been stated by impartial eye-witnesses, Jewish achievement in Palestine constitutes a romance of self-sacrifice and fortitude, the work accomplished by the Keren

Hayesod will form several of its most inspiring chapters. In dealing with the practical side of that achievement, due regard must be given to the condition of the country prior to the return of the Jew. One of the arguments that Anti-Zionists were wont to advance against the Zionist movement in its early days was that Palestine was unfit for civilised habitation. There was at the time a considerable measure of truth in that contention. Centuries of neglect and misuse had turned the fertile fields of the Land of Israel into a series of pestilential swamps, with only here and there stretches of territory that were fit for human occupation. Politically under the rule of the Turk, it was in the even more deadly grip of the mosquito and the malaria microbe which threatened disease and death to all who might venture to reclaim the soil from their devastating grasp. The towns concentrations of squalor and filth; the villages mere collections of mud; the water supply inadequate; sanitation most primitive; hygiene unknown; the central district under the exacting administration of a

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corrupt bureaucracy, and the outlying parts a prey to marauding bands of Arabs—such were the conditions in Palestine which met the early colonists who, with high hope and courage, came from Southern and Central Russia to pit their faith in a regenerated Land of Israel against the destructive forces that had entrenched themselves within it. If from that struggle there finally emerged the nucleus of a Jewish national home, let it be remembered that its foundation rests not so much upon the land regained from swamp and marsh, as upon the spirit of self-sacrifice shown by these early pioneers and the example of their fortitude and endurance.

The earliest Jewish Colonies are not the product of the Zionist Organisation. They owe their inception to the older Hoveve Zionist movement founded by Pinsker, and their practical success to the munificent support of that prince of Jewish philanthropists, Baron Edmond de Rothschild. The Hoveve Zionist movement was a Jewish movement in the direction of Palestine, inspired by an even more

intense sense of Jewish idealism than the present Zionist movement, but, not possessing the political character of the latter, it failed to make the same practical appeal to the Jewish masses throughout the world. It was responsible for the formation of the colonies of Rishon-le-Zion, Petach-Tikvah, Chedara, Zichron-Jacob, Yessod-Ha Ma-alah, Ekron, and Metulla, which constitute important factors in the present "*Yishub*" in Erez Israel. Based almost exclusively upon agriculture, these colonies were the first successful examples of Jewish constructive effort in that particular direction since the Dispersion, and have finally set at rest the controversy as to Jewish stability upon the land. They are now almost entirely self-supporting and in a flourishing if not prosperous condition.

To broaden their basis, to expand and increase the Jewish hold upon the land, and to surround that basis with all the appurtenances that go to make the complete national life of a people, became the immediate task of the Zionist Organisation in 1906, when, after the

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rejection of the British Government's East Africa offer, the movement settled down to a policy of practical work in Palestine, whilst still pursuing the political goal that up to then had been its principal, indeed almost its sole, purpose. History often endows a people with an instinct that works itself out in the realisation of some unconceived event, almost as if that event had been clearly foreseen. Something of that sort must have guided Zionist policy in those critical years between 1906 and the outbreak of the war in 1914. In those eight years of steady concentration upon the practical side of the movement, the *Yishub* in Palestine developed from the stage of small settlements and colonisation on to the plane of a growing national regeneration, which embraced every sphere of life and activity in the country—a remarkable achievement, but more so even in its consequences than in its immediate results. For it was this development, with its practical demonstration of Jewish solidarity and earnestness of purpose, that impelled the Governments of the world, always ready to acclaim a

fait accompli or its incipient equivalent, to recognise in the Zionist Organisation the organised medium of the determination of the Jewish people to regain its national centre. Indeed, it paved the way for the political triumph achieved by the Zionist leaders towards the conclusion of the war.

Naturally, Palestine was deeply affected by the war. In a small way the Belgium of the East, Palestine became the scene of action of the contending British and Turkish armies, and the *Yishub* was almost uprooted in the struggle. Fortunately the effects were lost in the great prospects that were opened up to the Jewish people as the result of the British occupation and the Balfour Declaration. Since the Balfour Declaration the Zionist Organisation, as the accredited "Jewish Agency," has been entirely responsible for the further development of what has been officially termed the "Jewish National Home," and it is here that the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund have played such important rôles. In summing up the practical achieve-

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ments of Zionism, the part played by these funds will be briefly indicated.

By the end of the war, the Jewish population in Palestine had been reduced to some 50,000 souls. To-day it is in the neighbourhood of 160,000. Of the 100,000 who have entered Palestine since the Balfour Declaration, the Keren Hayesod is directly responsible for nearly two-thirds, though indirectly the Zionist Organisation can claim a far greater proportion. The immigrants assisted by the Keren Hayesod are mostly of the Chalutzim type, and hail from the East European centres of Jewish life. Palestine Offices have been established in different parts, and they assist, both with information and by monetary grants, those who are likely to be quickly absorbed in the industry and agriculture of the country. In addition, the Keren Hayesod provides hostels, etc., for the reception of the Chalutzim, and, furthermore, it sees them through the period that necessarily elapses before they find employment. Till quite recently there was practically no unemployment amongst the Jews in Pales-

tine, but recently, owing to a variety of economic causes, there has been a certain degree of unemployment. The rate of Jewish immigration into Palestine has been a progressively increasing one, and in 1925 amounted to 35,000, and although there has been a setback since then, the probability is that the Jewish population will be augmented—apart from natural increase—by a steady flow of anything between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews per annum, provided sufficient funds are available. The Chalutzim are admitted by all impartial observers to form an exceptionally good class of immigrants, and as they are nearly all inspired by a strong sense of idealism, they constitute an element of the true pioneer type that is so essential in the upbuilding of a country. Side by side with the Chalutzim there are a number of Jews with capital who come to settle in Palestine, drawn thither from different lands, including England and America, by pure Zionist sentiment. These are mostly of the business or professional type, and it has been estimated that upwards of four millions

of Jewish capital has been brought into Palestine by this means.

What are the prospects of a Jewish majority in Palestine? Taking the rate of immigration at 30,000 per annum—and it is not improbable that the future will see a considerable increase—it will take about twenty-five years for the Jewish population to exceed that of the Arabs, allowing, of course, for natural increase in both cases. It has to be borne in mind that the capacity of Palestine to absorb population is greatly restricted by its present meagre industrial development. A country that is mainly based upon agriculture can support under ordinary circumstances a population three to four times that of the number actually engaged upon the land. Although the proportion is slightly higher in Palestine, it still follows that of every hundred immigrants who enter the country at least twenty-five must find their employment directly from the soil. If, however, during the period contemplated large-scale industries are established in Palestine, the number of Jews who would be able

to be absorbed into the life of the country would be enormously increased. It is upon this assumption that we base our belief in the larger possibilities for Jewish immigration. For though agriculture forms the most solid foundation for the upbuilding of a country like Palestine, once that factor is firmly established, attention will turn to the industrial side, which will, no doubt, find its further pioneers and the necessary capital for its formation and expansion.

Turning to agriculture, the total area of cultivated land in Jewish hands now amounts to 1,100,000 dunam. The number of colonies and Jewish settlements now number over 100, of which more than half are of post-war establishment and owe their existence either to the Keren Hayesod or to the Jewish National Fund. In this connection the Keren Hayesod plays a two-fold part: it assists directly in providing credits for the purchase of agricultural implements and machinery, cattle and fodder, seeds and manure, and indirectly the experimental stations which have been estab-

lished by the Keren Hayesod provide the necessary information for the application of the best scientific means in the exploitation of the soil. The main products of these settlements are wine, oranges and other fruit, wheat and other cereals, dairy produce, vegetables, and latterly tobacco. It is interesting to note that the number of Jews actually engaged in agriculture forms 23 per cent. of the total Jewish population, so that a healthy Jewish peasantry in correct proportion has so far been maintained. The further possibilities of agricultural development depend upon two factors : purchase of soil and cultivation. If the necessary means were available, so that the whole of the arable and possibly arable land in Palestine became Jewish property, and this land were cultivated, the total population that could be established upon the land would be, at a conservative estimate, 500,000—so that, taking the same proportion, Palestine could support, upon a purely agricultural basis, a Jewish population of 2,000,000.

The industrial development of the country

is still in its infancy. At the conclusion of the war high hopes were raised of a rapid industrial expansion. These have only partially matured. The reason is obvious. Industry is a slow growth and requires large means. Again, it is dependent upon private or co-operative enterprise, since the Zionist Organisation as such dare not venture directly upon the industrial field. The Zionist Organisation can assist, and has assisted, through its banking institutions, such as the Anglo-Palestine Bank, the Mortgage Bank, and the Workers' Bank, but with the exception of the Rutenberg scheme, in which the Keren Hayesod is interested to the extent of £50,000, and which has a national character and object, whatever has been created in Palestine in the way of industrial enterprise has been either on a co-operative basis or on a basis of private enterprise. The industries which have been developed successfully are those associated with the agriculture of the country, such as wine production, fruit-packing, olive oil and soap-making, flour-milling, tobacco cutting and cigarette-making,

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etc. Various industries connected with the building trades, such as cement, brick and tile manufacture, are also now firmly established, while there are, of course, a large number of small industrial undertakings which supply the various needs of the people in the country. But so far as large-scale industries are concerned, whose products would be able to compete in the markets of the world, very little has been inaugurated.

The essentials for the industrial exploitation of Palestine are : cheap power, railway transport and harbour facilities, capital, and skilled labour. So far as cheap power is concerned, since coal is not found in Palestine and oil is only a vague possibility, Jewish hope is centred upon the success of the Rutenberg Electrical Scheme for utilising the water power latent in the Jordan. The supply of further railway transport and harbour facilities is a matter for the Government to take in hand, and is a question of time and clearly felt demand. The building of a harbour at Haifa has already been decided on. The question of capital is one for

the Jewish people itself. In the last few years numbers of Jews have come to Palestine who are prepared to invest in the country, but the chief difficulty lies in the lack of co-ordination of effort so far as the industrial side is concerned. If the Zionist Organisation could now concentrate upon this sphere of activity, and formulate a general policy that would place the industrial development of the country in the forefront, as an essential factor in the establishment of the Jewish national home, Zionist enterprise would rally to it in the same way as it has done in other respects. Once a beginning were made, expansion would be rapid. For one great asset is immediately available, and that is the plentiful supply of skilled labour from the large Jewish artisan class in Russia and Poland, who have been engaged in various skilled trades such as textiles, watchmaking, engineering, etc., and who would gladly have that skill employed in Palestine if the necessary factories were established.

Commercially Palestine offers as yet but few

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opportunities. Large commerce can be based only upon large industries, and as these are still in the making, trading is confined to the comparatively small import and export demands of the country. In view, however, of its geographical position, as the point of juncture of three continents, and in view of the vast hinterlands of Syria and Mesopotamia, the commercial possibilities of Palestine will be of a wide character when the Jewish national centre has developed sufficiently to take full advantage of its position, and the necessary facilities are rendered available.

In undertaking the work of public health and hygiene, the Zionist Organisation gave proof of its national character. To a large extent it has assumed functions that are usually discharged by the State, and the results attained have been remarkable. Prior to the activities of the Zionist Organisation, Palestine, as indicated already, was a country which, to use a Biblical phrase, "devoured her inhabitants." Even before the war the Zionist Organisation had its medical institutions, and

their work has been greatly enhanced by the Hadassah Medical Unit sent out from America in 1918. Cholera, trachoma, and malaria are being rapidly suppressed, and it is computed that within a comparatively brief period these dread diseases will be completely extirpated. Hospitals have now been established in all the larger centres, and clinics in the rural areas. Bacteriological and chemical laboratories, Nurses' Training and Children's Welfare Centres, Maternity Homes, and a Röntgen Institute are some of the public health institutions which now minister to the needs of the Jewish and the Arab populations of Palestine as a result of Zionist effort, though it may be observed that the British Government is also doing a good deal for public health.

Education is the foundation for the culture of a people. The institutions that provide it in Palestine are part of the practical results of Zionist labours. The Zionist Organisation is to-day directly responsible for the maintenance of sixty-nine kindergartens, eighty-six elementary schools, three secondary schools,

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three training colleges, four technical schools, and three manual training schools, as well, of course, as the Hebrew University in Jerusalem opened by Lord Balfour in 1925, which is already functioning in several of its departments, notably in its institutes of medical research and chemistry, and Jewish studies. New institutes in mathematics, Oriental studies, and Palestine natural history have been added during the past twelve months. Of the total budget of the Keren Hayesod, about one-sixth is appropriated for educational purposes, and the Jewish child in Palestine is in a position to receive an education as complete, up to and including the secondary school stage, as can be had in most countries of Western Europe, and superior to that at the disposal of Jewish children in East European countries. The whole of the education in these schools is carried on in Hebrew.

Of the political achievements of the Zionist movement little more need be said here, since their import has already been indicated in the previous chapter. They are at once the coping-

stone of past Zionist endeavours and the foundation of future Zionist activity. The British regime has had the all-important effect of establishing law and order in the land on a basis of liberty and justice. A sense of security is the essential condition of all enterprise in a country. That is assured under British rule. As to the possibilities of full national regeneration, there are slight differences of opinion. But the majority of Zionists throughout the world, and above all the majority of the Jews in Palestine, agree that the political status of the Jews under the mandate and the general administration of the country by Great Britain constitute a sufficiently satisfactory basis for Jewish national aspiration.

Let us examine the further possibilities. Until such time as there is a Jewish majority in Palestine we cannot expect any considerable change. As the Jewish position in the country becomes consolidated and the numbers increase, there will be, no doubt, a stronger inclination on the part of the Mandatory Power to pay

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attention to Jewish demands; but it would be rash to expect any radical change in the basic political conditions. When a Jewish majority becomes an accomplished fact, the questions that may arise are, whether Great Britain will still desire to retain her mandate, and if so what will be the relationship of the Jewish settlement to the Mandatory Power. The first question is one for the British people to decide, but it seems inconceivable that after, say, twenty-five years of tenure, Great Britain will suddenly desire to relinquish her political hold. Again, assuming that the mandate will have been carried out by Great Britain during that period in the spirit in which it has been carried out up till now, it seems equally inconceivable that the Jewish people as a whole, or the *Yishub* in Palestine, will have any general desire to sever the connection that contributed to the accomplishment of their aim. The probability is therefore that the British and Jewish partnership will be of a permanent nature, and in view of the well-known British tradition and policy in these

matters, the natural expectation is that Palestine will sooner or later attain the position of an autonomous British Dependency.

The spiritual and cultural aspects of Zionist work are of supreme importance. Palestine will have to play a double rôle. It will have to be the national home for the Jews in Palestine, and it will have to be the spiritual home for ALL Jews. When it has succeeded in both these tasks, Zionism will have solved completely the Jewish question.

Spiritual values are difficult to appraise. Practical work lends itself to calculation, and political triumphs are measurable, because the results can be seen within the span of the average man's life. It is not so with things of the mind and the spirit, especially where a people is concerned. There it often takes generations before the full effects are worked out, and in the meantime one can only discern tendencies and indications of their direction.

Such tendencies are now perceptible in Palestine. Even before the war they were beginning to manifest themselves. When the

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controversy arose as to the language of instruction in the schools of Palestine, we had the first indication of the direction in which the *Yishub* in Palestine was leading. Hebrew was the point at issue. The Zionists at that time had a few schools under their control, and insisted that both the spirit and the language of instruction should be Hebrew. The German *Hilfsverein*, the French *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, the Anglo-Jewish Association had their own institutions, and each desired that the language of instruction and the spirit ruling in the schools under their control should be that of the country they represented. The struggle seemed hopeless. On the one side there was the Zionist Organisation, at that time without official recognition and disposing of very insignificant funds; on the other side were the three wealthiest and most powerful Jewish organisations in the world. The result was the triumph of Hebrew, for the simple reason that it was backed by the whole mass sentiment of the Jewish settlement in Palestine. Teachers refused to teach, pupils refused to attend

classes, and from that struggle Hebrew emerged as the embodiment of the spirit that animated the whole of the *Yishub*, and as the language that was to become the living mother-tongue of every Jewish child and adult who made Palestine his mother-country. To-day not only is Hebrew a living language in Palestine, but it is one of the officially recognised languages in the country, and there has been a marked revival in its study, knowledge, and use throughout the Diaspora. Who can say where and how it will work itself out?

That is one tendency. The concentration of most of the great Hebrew writers and poets in Palestine is another of these tendencies. When we have a combination of men of the stamp of Bialik, Tchernikowsky, Schneier, Frischman, each issuing the distinctive message of his own genius from one centre, who will set a limit to its effects in the different centres of Jewish dispersion, and who can measure its results upon the Jewish youth in Palestine? Yet another tendency is seen in the rally of the great men of learning to the University of

Jerusalem. When we have the leading Jewish professors of all the great universities in different parts of the world, with that master-mind Einstein at their head, associated with that supreme symbol of the Jewish national genius, it is bound to become, first the focus, and then the radiating centre of Jewish thought and inspiration.

It is true that, so far, all these things are merely tendencies, indications of the forces at work, the full effects of which will only slowly impress themselves upon the heart and mind of the Jewish people as a whole. It is necessarily a slow process, for it is a natural one. Some Jews respond more readily to its working. They will be in the van. But the rest will follow, until, as Palestine becomes more and more the solid national centre for an ever-growing nucleus of Jews within its borders, so it will become more and more the spiritual centre for the whole of the Jewish people throughout the world. The forces that militate against that consummation are not of a permanent character. In Palestine they have

been already subdued. There, indeed, we have practical unanimity that one of the essential features of the Jewish national home shall be its spiritual character. In the Diaspora, however, it is a consummation that cannot be readily visualised. The Jew of Western Europe and America is still bound to his nineteenth-century notion of the Jewish position. After all, it is difficult for him to realise the changes that have taken place, when so little that is concrete is before his eyes. Whatever he may have felt within himself as to the value of his Jewish origin, his Jewish connection has been a source of embarrassment to him. The unfortunate position of the Jew in Eastern Europe has so often been held up to him as something degrading, that he had begun to believe in his degradation. And now the Zionist comes forward and bids him look to what that same Jew is creating in Palestine, as the source of his spiritual inspiration. It is almost too much to believe. But when, as time goes on, the positive results of Jewish achievement confirm the early favourable im-

pression that it has already made on an astonished humanity; when he finds the Jew being held up as the new pioneer type that reclaimed a country from swamp and desert; when he realises that new values created in art, science, literature, music, in the Hebrew University and other Palestinian institutions are being appreciated by his fellow non-Jews, then will he begin to find as much pride in his Jewish connection as he felt in his Jewish origin, and be prepared to accept those new Jewish values that will have been created. *Palestine will have become his spiritual centre.*

It is not easy to visualise the consummation. When one is shown an acorn one does not foresee the oak. It has taken the Zionist Organisation thirty years to prepare the ground and plant the seed. The young shoots are now springing forth. They are strong and vigorous.

